

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5474

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL MUNICH

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR PINT LAB PL

SUBJ: CLOSING OF VIII TRADE UNION CONGRESS

REF: WARSAW 8780 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. THE VIII TRADE UNION CONGRESS CLOSED ITS DELIBERATIONS WITH A SPEECH BY THE RE-ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF TRADE UNIONS, WLADYSLAW KRUCZEK. A ZYCIE WARSZAWY EDITORIAL ON DECEMBER 9 ADVOCATED WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT ("SAMORZADNOSC") AS A PREREQUISITE FOR "SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY". NEITHER THE CLOSING CEREMONIES NOR THE REPORTS FROM THE 17 "PROBLEM GROUPS" OF THE CONGRESS INDICATE A REVITALIZATION OF THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE VIII TRADE UNION CONGRESS CLOSED ON DECEMBER 8 WITH FAMILIAR CEREMONY: ACCEPTANCE OF GIEREK'S OPENING SPEECH AS INSPIRATION FOR FURTHER UNION PARTICIPATION IN BUILDING SOCIALISM (REF); ACCEPTANCE OF KRUCZEK'S REPORT AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CONGRESS'S RESOLUTIONS; APPROVAL OF THE REPORT ON UNION  
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ACCOMPLISHMENTS, 1972-76; AND ELECTION OF THE 185-MEMBER CENTRAL

BOARD OF TRADE UNIONS WITH WLADYSLAW KRUCZEK AGAIN AS CHAIRMAN. KRUCZEK'S CLOSING SPEECH PRAISED THE TRADE UNIONS, THE VIII CONGRESS, THE SOVIET UNION, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND EDWARD GIEREK IN WARM TERMS. IT WAS GREETED, ACCORDING TO TRYBUNA LUDU, WITH "RESOUNDING SHOUTS EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY PROGRAM, THE PROGRAM OF DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY."

3. TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTED NOVEMBER 8 THAT THE KEY TASK DISCUSSED IN THE 17 "PROBLEM GROUPS" WAS THE IMPROVEMENT OF LABOR PRODUCTIVITY. CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT "EXTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT METHODS" WOULD RESULT IN A LABOR SHORTAGE OF 800,000 WORKERS BY 1980, THE REPORT CONTINUED. THE PROBLEM GROUPS SUPPORTED A STRICTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WAGE INCREASES AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY. THEY ALSO DISCUSSED PENSIONS, HEALTH CARE, TRANSPORTATION, AND UNION HOLIDAYS. THE REPORT ON THE LABOR CODE EMPHASIZED THE UNITY OF WORKERS' "RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS" AND THE PRESENT TASK OF "ECONOMIC EDUCATION" OF WORK CREWS, PARTICULARLY IN THE "LAWS AT WORK IN A SOCIALIST ECONOMY."

4. THE REPORT ON THE PROBLEM GROUPS ALSO MENTIONED "WORKER PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING" AS AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF IMPROVING WORKER PRODUCTIVITY. THIS THEME WAS DEVELOPED IN A ZYCIE WARSZAWY EDITORIAL ON DECEMBER 9, ENTITLED "DEMOCRACY AND SELF-MANAGEMENT" BY PROFESSOR JERZY WIATR. WIATR CHARACTERIZES SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AS A TWO-TIERED PROCESS: DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE GOVERNING PROCESS ON A NATIONAL SCALE AND SELF-INITIATED ACTIVITIES OF CITIZENS TO SOLVE LOCAL PROBLEMS. WIATR CONTINUES THAT SOME SOCIAL FUNCTIONS REQUIRE CENTRAL CONTROL AND DO NOT LEND THEMSELVES TO A DECENTRALIZED DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. HOWEVER, THERE ARE OTHER SITUATIONS, SUCH AS IN FACTORIES, HOUSING DEVELOPMENT, AND SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS, WHERE CREATIVE ENERGIES CAN BE TAPPED THROUGH SELF-MANAGEMENT. WIATR LISTS THE PROBLEMS FACING SELF-MANAGING EFFORTS. FIRST, HE CITES A 1966 CENTRAL BOARD OF TRADE UNIONS REPORT THAT SELF-MANAGEMENT EXPERIMENTS HAVE SHOWN A "STRUCTURAL WEAKNESS" WHICH RESULTS IN "BUREAUCRATIZATION." SECOND, THERE IS A "LACK OF TRADITION" OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IN POLAND. A THIRD DIFFICULTY IS THE "TECHNOCRACY", IN THE FORM OF INCREASINGLY POWERFUL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GOVERNMENT BODIES. WIATR RECOGNIZES THAT THE TECHNOCRACY'S DESIRE TO FIND THE QUICKEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE SOLUTIONS RESULTS IN A TENDENCY TO BYPASS THE UNWIELDLY FORMS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT. HOWEVER, HE REAFFIRMS THE NECESSITY OF STRENGTHENING SELF-MANAGEMENT GROUPS IN ORDER TO ENGAGE SOCIETY IN SOLVING PUBLIC PROBLEMS. NOT ONLY WILL DIRECT PARTICIPATION PROVIDE A FORUM FOR "CONSTRUCTIVE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION" LEADING TO THE "BEST COMPROMISE," IT WILL ALSO SERVE TO REALIZE THE VIII PARTY CONGRESS GOAL OF

DEEPENING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

5. COMMENT: THE PZPR LEADERSHIP WAS SHOCKED BY THE GAP WHICH IT PERCEIVED BETWEEN ITSELF AND THE WORKING CLASS FOLLOWING THE JUNE DISTURBANCES. REVITALIZATION OF THE TRADE UNIONS HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS A LOGICAL WAY TO BRIDGE THE GAP. ALTHOUGH THE WIATR ARTICLE PROVIDES THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR YJCH A POLICY, WE FIND LITTLE EVIDENCE IN THE CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS, BEGINNING WITH THE RETENTION OF KRUCZEK AS CHAIRMAN, TO SUGGEST A FUNDAMENTAL POLICY CHANGE. ELSEWHERE, CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS PROVIDE A MARGINAL INDICATION THAT MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE PZPR ARE STRENGTHENING THEIR INFLUENCE. IN A TRYBUNA LUDU REPORT (DECEMBER 9) OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE CENTRAL BOARD OF TRADE UNIONS AND FOREIGN DELEGATES, NEWLY-APPOINTED CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY STEFAN OLSZOWSKI'S NAME APPEARS AFTER THOSE OF JAROSZEWICZ, BABIUCH, AND KRUCZEK, BUT BEFORE THOSE OF SZYDLAK AND LUKASZEWICZ. END COMMENT.

DAVIES

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